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851 the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's
[622] child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

846 For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything
262 cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl
853 full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a
854 month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut
[278] milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest
[602] to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

431 A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the
● 852 day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

852 A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(hou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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(fata'a), which was also ornamented with the sacred white and the red bark cloth, and *ata* (a kind of greenery). Exactly the same rite was enacted at this time for a boy or for a girl, and was meant to give the child strength and health *(no te menava*, for the life-breath). This rite is still performed at times in Pua Ma'u.

According to the Dordillon manuscript (9) the child's head was anointed until the tenth day after its birth. When the child could walk, it was carried to the sea shore, covered with a piece of cloth, and buried in the sand. After this, it was bathed in fresh water. The child was then given *popoi* for the first time, a little being offered at the same time to the gods.

Treatment of Infants

During its infancy, the child was bathed twice a day, morning and evening. A chief's child had a special, *tapu* bathing basin lined with cut red stone slabs, called *tui ke'etu*. Early in the morning, just about sunrise, it was customary to carry a child out and lay it in the brush so that the dew might strengthen it.

One informant said the natives believed that if a mother nursed her child, it would be hard to raise. Hence she did not nurse it, but allowed it to be taken away from her at once and fed on cold breadfruit paste and chewed shrimps. I believe that this informant must have been speaking of the purgative used immediately after birth, for native children in the Marquesas were certainly suckled by their mothers.

Mothers moulded the heads of infants by passing the hand up across the forehead, pressing the temples in, and pushing the upper region of the forehead back, so as to form a narrow temporal region and a head sloping back from the brows to a peaked apex. This appearance is distinct in many old natives today, although never very greatly exaggerated. The practice is still followed by mothers. In addition to this molding of the skull the end of the nose was pressed down and held with the fingers, in order to flatten and broaden it. The lips of the vulva of female infants were pulled and manipulated by the child's mother, in order to enlarge and open them.

During the period of infancy, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent harm from coming to the child through evil spirits and to safeguard it against being stolen by ogresses *(vehine hae)*. The people thought that sometimes *vehine hae* took the children of two mothers and exchanged them. Sickness and death of infants were believed to be caused by evil influences contracted by the child through its parents or through other relatives. For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door.

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled.

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue*.) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima (ha'a,* to make; *me'ie,* clear; *ima,* hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi.* The

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece).

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)*"—matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived.

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were *tehe* (cut), *tche te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tahuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Père Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder *(kiva)*. When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a (akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

> The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

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All the circumcisions in Pua Ma'u appear to have been performed at a single site which is located a short distance below the mortuary *me'ae* of Te oho-vevau. It does not appear to have had any special name. The site has, on the upper side, a wall or rough terrace made of single large stones, about 2½ feet high and 20 feet long. Below this there is a natural level space 15 feet wide having on its lower edge a low wall similar to that on the upper side. At the northern end of the upper wall there is a single large uncut stone on which the boys were seated during the operation. The boys were circumcised in groups at the same time as the sons of chiefs. The age varied considerably, ranging from seven to twelve years, but the operation was always performed before tattooing and apparently before puberty. The group of boys to be circumcised went to the place at the same time, accompanied by both their parents. The parents stood at the lower wall, and the boys, beginning with the chief's son, went to the stone already mentioned, one at a time. The boy to be operated upon was seated on the stone and was held by his mother's brother. The *tuhuna* then cut the foreskin with a stone or bamboo knife, making a single longitudinal slit. A stone or piece of wood was inserted under the fore skin to give a firm base on which to cut. After the slit was made the *tuhuna* pulled the skin back from the cut with his fingers so that it hung down below like a flap. The operation was performed in silence. Stones called *kiva* had been heated in the sun before the operation, and the member was placed on these to stop the bleeding. When the bleeding had stopped it was bandaged with *tapa* (bark cloth). If the member became sore and swollen during the time of healing, hot stones wrapped in leaves were applied to it.

After the operation the boys were taken to the *tohua*, where the chief gave a feast for his son. The other boys took no active part in this, but ate of the food. (Informants are not clear on this point.) After the feast all the boys, including the chief's son, were dressed in new *hami* (loin cloths) and conducted to a special house which had been previously prepared by their parents. They lived in this house for one month, their food being brought to them by their parents. There appears to have been no relation between the circumcision group and the tattooing group [of *ka'ioi*] One informant, the son of a chief, had sixty boys in his tattooing group, but only three in the circumcision group.

On a visit to Pua Ma'u subsequent to that of Mr. Linton, I obtained the following supplementary notes on the practice from the same *tuhuna tche* who served as Mr. Linton's informant. *Tehe* was a *tapu* labor *(hana tapu)*, and was performed before adolescence. A special shelter *(oho au)* was built on a platform near the dwelling of the boy's father, and decorated with the sacred white and red bark cloth, and mountain plants, the work being performed by youths, directed by a building *tuhuna*. The *tuhuna tehe*, or inciser, used a stone knife of his own unless the boy's father supplied him with a special one. The boy was seated, with the *tuhuna* in front of him. The *tuhuna* took a stone of the kind called *vihoa* (probably *ke'a vïihoa*, sharp stone), broke it, and selected a sharp-edged chip. A small, flattened piece of wood was then inserted into the foreskin, which was drawn taut; then a longitudinal slit was made in the skin on top of the stick. The member was then held on the underside, while the piece of wood was withdrawn. The slit foreskin was pulled apart to insure the separation's being complete. The piece of wood, on which the foreskin

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[5] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[5] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vanana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way.

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-au no Motuhaiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation.

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference.

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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OTHER SACRED CHANTS

The Aumeha

The *aumeha* was primarily a chant to consecrate a new-born child, being known also as the *pu'e na te ahu no te tama*, the *pu'e*, or generation chant, for the shrine of the child. When intoned for a child it was chanted at the family sacred place by the ceremonial priest, the child's father erected a shrine or altar for the occasion. An enclosure was made of peeled *fau* stakes decorated with white cloth; inside was set up a small staging (*fata'a*) which was decorated with *ata* (a sort of parasitic plant) and with strips of the white and of the red bark cloth used on ceremonial occasions. The rite was performed both for boys and girls. It is said still to be practiced sometimes at Pua Ma'u, where this material and information was secured. The same chant was also intoned over the dead body after the spirit had taken its departure. In form and content the *aumeha* resembles the *vavana* and the *pu'e*, although it is much shorter than either. It begins with references to the *take*, or "foundation" or "depths." Like the *pu'e* it mentions the growth of the land, and like the *vavana* the birth of the child. Reference to the origin of the successive ancient lands occupies the middle section of the chant. In this section come the lines:

> "When was the land born?
> Out of the womb of the coconut?"

Later two mythical coconuts are mentioned, the *niu-oa-i-Fiti* (long-coconut-at-Fiti), and the *niu-oa-ani* (long-sky coconut). My informants explained that this referred to two coconuts that played a part in the rite, one of them being used for making the food for the child, the other being "for the navel string" (?).

The Pope Chant

The *pope* was composed by a *tuhuna* in a house (*oho-au*) consecrated to that purpose upon the occasion of the building of the new dwelling for the sacred first born. It was sung by the male and female relatives of the child at the time of the feast which celebrated the first entrance of the relatives into the house. (See First-born.) The words of the example I have appear to be purely poetic, in other words, have no ceremonial significance. It is said, however, that there were sacred and common *pope*. During the singing the arms and shoulders swung slightly from side to side, the hands clapping gently in the same movement.

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic.

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

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When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

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The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

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The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

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service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,